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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórü* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Parý *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every

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day the *Bordwa* men came to the main house bringing game, fish, and fruits. They did household chores. The Tucano treated them well, like tame animals, Koch-Grünberg commented (1909, I, 269 ff.). The Macú took part in the small drinking parties. They were not given coca, however (women among the Cubeo are also not given coca), but were given tobacco and chicha. They took no part in the dancing and (this is a very important note) they wore no ornaments. Little Macú girls took care of the children and brought firewood. The girls were at the sexual disposition of the men. The Macú were sold by the Tucano to other Indians. The Tucano told Koch-Grünberg that the Macú "were not people." They did attribute to them, however, the very human arts of black magic.

BAHÚKIWA NARRATIVE OF THEIR EMERGENCE AND WANDERINGS

The text is chanted and narrates mainly place names. Thus the narrative is mainly evocative and is only barely a description of events. The chant is referred to as "a good mouth that is talking" (*medkamdtewu yawiwū*). It means simply that the people are talking good things. In the following rendering of the text, information in parentheses is explanation and not translation. A free translation follows the text.

pwéntewū – the people came out
tcúntcawwa – and shed (their anaconda skins)
kahádami – they went forward
waré borikapindo – the place of the star ray (the name of a rock that has a hole through which a star ray entered)
opéko tamána – crossing over the milk (a reference to a rock forming a bridge over rushing water called milk [*opéko*])
emintakori – the passage of minnows (the name of a rock)
kanúrübo – (a hill named after the kánuku tree) and the rapids of four channels
bwühürükürü – the rock where *Bwü* (Agouti) jumped (a good jumper is now referred to as *Bwü*)
byátakwe – the rapids of the pepper plant (a reference to a rock that was once a pepper plant)
kwábebo – the place of *Kwákü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies)
borikabo – the place of *Borikakü* (a name in the *Hehénewa* genealogies – it means the aracú fish)
opéko tawi – the milk of the tree (a reference to a tree called *wanumu* that gave milk; *Borikakü* drank this milk and some of it spilled here)
nahó pwánwa – the place of the worm people (the *nahó* is a worm used as bait in fishing; the reference was not explained)
bwütaunrü – the tree beneath which *Bwü* passed (a tree had fallen across the stream and *Bwü* passed beneath it)
bwütaunrü – the tree beneath which Bwü passed (a tree had fallen across it and it turned into a rock)
weokún – the beach of the monkey (a monkey passed by; an Ancient killed it and it turned to sand)